

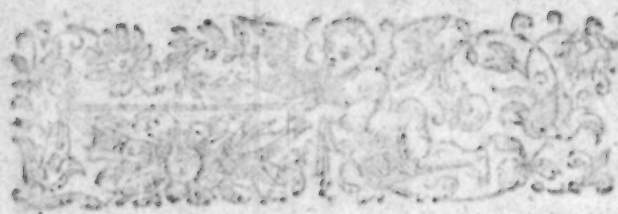


A  
DISCOVRSE  
OF THE VSAGE OF  
the English Fugitiues, by  
*the Spaniard.*



LONDON,  
Printed by *Thomas Scarlet* for *John Drawater*, and  
are to be solde at his shop in Pater noster  
row, at the signe of the Swan.

1 5 9 5.



A  
DISCOVRE  
OF THE VSAGE OF  
the English Engines, by  
the Spaniard.



LONDON,  
Printed by Thomas Streater in Strand, and  
are to be sold at a Shop in Pall Mall.  
1687.



1745.36.915  
THE COPIE OF A  
Letter sent out of the Low coun-  
tries by a Gentleman entertained  
by the King of Spaine in  
pension:

To a yong Gentleman his Kinsman in  
ENGLAND.



Y very good Co-  
fin, vnderstand-  
ing as well by  
your Letters, as  
by the message  
lately done vnto me by the mouth  
of A.T. of the great longing and  
desire you haue to draw your self  
into these parts, & to imploy your  
selfe here in seruice of the Spanish  
king: & perceiuing also as well by  
your sayd Letters, as by the Gen-  
tleman

tleman that brought the same,  
and by the reporte of diuerse o-  
ther, young Gentlemen of our  
Countrie there bee manye that  
are of your minde in that point:  
Some thereunto, as I doo gesse,  
moued of a youthfull and vaine  
tickling humour, to bee wan-  
dering abroad in strange and  
forreine Countries: Others in  
hope there to growe to greate  
preferment, aduancement, im-  
ployment, and wealth: Other  
some pretending matter of con-  
science, seeme to haue sure con-  
fidence, that there they maye  
liue with more libertie and ease  
of minde, then that within our  
Countrie they inioye. I haue  
thought good for the particu-  
lar

lar loue which I beare, and  
 alwayes haue borne towards  
 you, vnto whome I wish as to  
 my selfe, but chiefly in respecte  
 of the sincere, faythfull, reue-  
 rent, and loyall fidelitie and re-  
 garde I haue to the person of our  
 sacred, renowned, and most gra-  
 cious Soueraigne, the **QUEENES**  
 most excellent Maiestie, and to  
 my natlue Countrie and Cound-  
 trye-men, to sette downe some  
 notes and obseruations, yvhich  
 by long and painefull troubles and  
 experience in this place I haue  
 gathered: by which I hope I  
 shall make manifest not onelye  
 to you, but also to all others  
 my most deare COUNTRYE men, if  
 I maye haue the fauour to haue  
 it

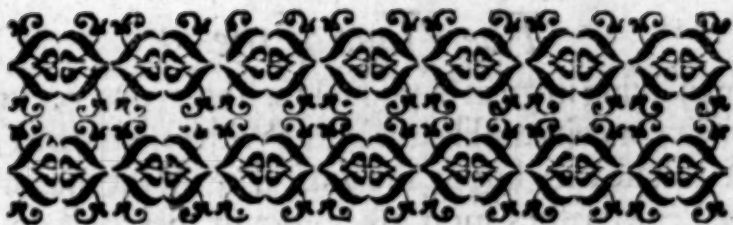


it published : in which point I  
mean to labor by my best friends,  
to such of the greatest persons as  
may permit the same, how great-  
ly you and they that desire to re-  
paire hether by any of the moti-  
ons before expressed, or in anye  
hope of good to be receiued from  
the sayde King, doo erre and are  
deceiued. I hartely and most ear-  
nestly desire you, & all other that  
shall reade the same, deepelye to  
iudge & consider of these points  
which I shall set downe, which  
(God willing) I will do with such  
fidelitie, true meaning, and since-  
ritie, as that no parte of the same  
shall bee truly to bee gaynsayd or  
refelled, and my selfe by the per-  
sons, times, and places, and other  
cir-

circumstances shall make most  
 manifest and plaine, to anie that  
 shall doubt of the truth of the same  
 or any part thereof, & I shall take  
 great ioy & comfort, if my self ha-  
 uing vndertaken an vntowardlye  
 & dangerous course, though with  
 better successe then hath happe-  
 ned to many hundreds, may be as  
 a caueat to all the young Gentle-  
 men of our Nation, how they ha-  
 zard themselues so dangerouslie.  
 And that my painfull experience  
 may be to you as a looking Glas,  
 wherein they maye beholde the  
 spots & errours of theyr concey-  
 ued fantasies, or as<sup>i</sup> markes sette vp  
 for them, whereby they maye  
 auoide the perilles & most daun-  
 gerous rockes and shelves, to  
 B. them

them yet vnknown, & lying hid-  
den vnder the smooth, fayre, and  
delightful conceiued and fanta-  
sied pleasures forged in  
their imagina-  
tions.





# THE METHOD OF the insuing Discourse.



THE method and manner that I intend to vse in this Discourse, shall bee after this sort. First, I will directe my speeches to the vn-experienced Gentlemen, desirous to serue here in *Spaine*, shewing them in what point of their hope and expectations they doo faile, and are deceiued.

Secondly, to our credulous Papistes at home, vpon whose grosenes and simplicitie, our rebellious traitors heere abroad doo build their chiefe foundations of all their villanies, whom while they entertaine with vaine expectations, in the meane time with spies, Priests, and traitours, which they daily send ouer, they abuse with trecherous practises, to the irrepiable ruine and ouerthrow of them and theirs. Thirdly, because many of our countrie

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men liuing in great happinesse at home, doo yet in their conceits mislike, surfetting with ease, the blessed estate they liue in, and what withall, the maner of her Maiesties most gracious and mercifull gouernment, I haue thought it my dutie somewhat to expresse these few things which haue come to my knowledge, touching the innumerable benefits & blessings with which it hath pleased God to adorn her royall Maiestie, together with the flourishing estate of that noble soile since the time of her Maiesties raigne, so flourishing with peace, prosperity, and abundance, in glorie of warres, so renowned and victorious in arts, so curious and excellent in iustice, euen to the verie enemye, so admirable, and (which surpasseth all the rest) in the free, sweet, and comfortable vse of the true religion, so aboue all others blessed and fortunate, that I haue heard the verie Spaniards themselves saie, they feare Iesus Christ is become a protestant. Withal, I make some comparison betweene this and the tyrannicall gouernment of the Spanish tyrant, his cruell and inhumane vsage of his miserable subiects, their abolition of their priuiledges, and in fine, the vnspearable bondage, slauerie, and desolate despaire in which they liue languishing. A matter though farre vnfit for me to handle or treat, but worthie of the most graue and experienced men of qualitie and highest degree, yet considering I shall not presume to treat of matters of high state or secrets, but such as euerie good subiect may find and pick out of the heroicall actions of the one, and the tyrannicall insolence

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solence of the other, both don in the appearance of the world, I hope and so with all lowlynesse most humbly desire her most gracious and benigne Maieftie to pardon me, if I come farre short of that which men fitter for the handling therof could say or intreat. And so most humbly also make petition, that I may therein bee censured according to the loyall zeale I beare to her most princely Maieftie, and not to the basenes and simplicitie of my stile or the handling thereof.

But to come to my Discourse, to the end that you and the rest of your opinion, may cleerly and plainly discern those things which hetherto your eyes blinded with the vaile of partialitie, haue not bin able to view. I will begin with the good vsage, honor & aduancement that you and other Gentlemen addicted to this seruice are heere to expect, bringing vnto you for example fundrie braue and worthie Gentlemen, Captaines and souldiers, that haue taken the like course before you, wherby you shal perceiue it is not all gold that glistreth, but that whatsoeuer shew the Spaniarde make vnto vs, yet in his hart he mortally abhorreth vs, & by al means possible seeketh our destruction, ruine & subuersion, as it euidently appeareth by his vsage of troupes & companies of our nations that haue serued him. For example: at the siege of *Antwarpe* there came vnto him vnder the conduct of *Norris* and *Cornish*, a troupe of six thousand, the tallest and best appointed souldiers, that euer I remember to haue scene in all my life, their comming beeing the onelie cause



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that the towne was so soone deliuered vnto him as it was. For whereas the Duke of *Anjou* laie vnder the wals of *Gaunt*, with sufficient force and most deliberate resolution to succour the sayd towne of *Antwarp* vpon his mutinie, fearing further inconuenience, he marched away with his whole camp, leauing the enemie now battering the towne, who seeing themselues frustrate of their expected hope, presently rendered the same to the duke of Parma. But how were they recompenced? Within one yeere they were let all to famish for hunger, which some of them seeking to releue, by foreranging out vpon the Countrey, foure and twentie of them were taken and carried to *Antwarp*, of whose beginning they were the chiefeft, and there openlye hanged in the market place. Whereas all other nations had libertie to rob and steale, and doo what they list. Another troupe of them of thirtye, beeing foorth, and lying in a village neere *Poppering* in *Flanders*, a companie of Spaniards hearing of them, came into the village where they were, & after friendly and soldierly salutation of each side, as they were all making merrie together, on a sodaine the Spaniards tooke them at aduantage vnarmed, and most trecherously and inhumanelye murthered them euerie one. Sundrie complaints were made to the Duke, by the friends of those that were thus murthered, and by the Captaines of the Regiment, but there could bee no remedie nor iustice obtained. But to make amendes, because they would bee the cleanlier ridde of the residue of this  
poore

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poore miserable troupe, the campe being then before *Winockberghen*, they made them two litle forts of purpose, in which they willingly placed them in the vtmost quarter of the whole camp, and neereft confining to the town, to the end they might haue all their throates cut, as in deepe they had verie few nights after. At which time the enemy assaulting them with great furie, and they defending themselves most manfully about the space of an houre, in such sort, as the alarum passed through the whol campe, yet they were neuer releued with any succour at all, insomuch that the greatest part of them being slaine in defence, the enemy at last entered and put the residue to the swoord.

To rehearse vnto you the fundrie and seuerall calamities that these poore men, as well Captaines as souldiers endured, during the small time of that their vnfortunate seruice, especiallye at *Ganskecke*, *Aske*. and *Grauer*, would seeme (I am sure) vnto you for the vnspeakable strangeness thereof, scarcelye credible, for they neuer receiued all the time of their seruice anie one moneths paie. I haue seene Lieutenants and Ensignes of them go vp & downe the campe begging their bread, couered only with olde mantles about their shoulders, and haue my selfe releued some of them. Shortly after came *Pigot*, who brought with him Sir *John Norris* his regiment, being well neere a thousand, as tall and well appointed men as were in Europe, whose seruice, how meritorious and beneficiall it was vnto the Spaniards, I leaue to their iudgements that knowe the

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the Countrey. For by rendering of *Alost* vnto him, they were the occasion that hee got *Darmoude* the *Sasse*, the fortres of *Leiskins hooke*, *Saint Anthonies*, & *Saint Margarets*, the best part of the land of *Wast*, & in manner *Gaunt* it selfe, as the sequel shewed. Notwithstanding all which seruice, they were within two yeeres space, what with hunger, the gallowes, & rigorous dealing, consumed and brought to nothing. And last at *Stalbrooke*, euen against the yeelding vp of *Antwarp*, when all other Nations were to receiue their count and reckoning, they only were infamously cashierd without anie one moneths paie. And which of all others is most monstrous & scarce credible, whereas some of the Captains, not long before had made them of their owne purses new and faire Ensignes, those Ensignes were violently taken awaie from those that bare them and detained. Which abuse and wrong though captain *Tresham* and the other Captaines complained off to the duke with great protestations, yet they could neuer obtaine anie restitution.

Somewhat before this time, when the whole campe was at the siege of *Dermound* paide two moneths, they onely though of all others most travelled in the trenches, wading euerie night bosome high to their wast, and hauing had more men slain in that siege than anie other regiment in the whole campe, could not receiue one pennie, notwithstanding they had passed in muster with the rest, and some of the Captaines bribed the Commisarie, thinking thereby to make a great hand. But in sted  
of



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of mony, when they shewed the Duke, they were scornfully by him turned of, to the Contadores, of whom they receiued the most base & opprobrious speeches that euer were giuen soldiers, & were in fine reiected without euer receiuing one halspeny. And lastly, when the Regiment was cast, whereas the paie of a reformed Captaine amongst them, of what Nation so euer he be, is fortie crownes, they giue onely to our English captaines fiue and twentie a moneth. Not long before it chanced that one of the Captains, whose name was *Edward Vincent*, was taken in a skirmish by the enemie at *Pernence*, and set at rancome at a hundred and fifty poundes, to make which raunsome, his father beeing then in *Flanders*, a poore olde man of seuentie yeres of age, fell vpon his knees before the Duke, weeping and imploring his helpe. But in sted of yelding him releefe, the Duke badde take awaie the olde drunken foole: the grieffe whereof strake the old man so to the heart, that he went home and dyed within fixe dayes, and his sonne for lacke of his raunsome was shortly after hanged at *Perpes*. *Pigot* himselfe being some threeyeeres since taken, and *Barne*, betweene *Gant* and *Bruges*, were neuer releued with anie one pennie towardes theyr charges or raunsomes, *Pigot* was suffered miserably to end his daies in prison, and so had *Barne* also, but that his wife, by her solicitation, found such fauour among his priuate friends, that he got as much as paide his raunsome, but neuer could obtaine one pennie of the Duke, though shee were an importunate sutor vnto him.

C.

Lastly

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Lastly, came sir *W. Standley* and *R. Yorke* rendering vnto the King the Towne of *Deuenter*, & fort of *Sutphen*, the one with a Regiment of foote, the other with a companie of Lances. Let vs see howe the one and the other was vsed. First, sir *William Standley* was confirmed gouernour of the Towne hee rendered, and his Regiment lefte there in garrison with the receite of two moneths paie. For a while he liued in the greatest applause that might bee: Cardinall *Allen* was written vnto to set down Priests to instruct this religious regiment: he informed the Pope thereof, who both wrote ioyntlie to the King to be good vnto this regiment. Which beeing well and liberally intreated, as they had alreadie at *Rhemes* and *Rome*, a Seminarie of schollers to praie and write for the Catholyke cause of our Countrie: So this conducted by so worthie and Catholike a Gentleman as sir *William Standley* was, might bee a continuall nurserie and seminarie of souldiers to fight for the same. Downe came Priestes thicke and three-folde, from *France* and *Italy*, many masses and much preaching there was: Gentlemen from all parts drew downe thether, in hope of this good paiment, and golden world that then was talked of. But what followed within short space, to weaken their number, three of their companies vnder colour of seruice, were cunninglye drawn out of the Towne by *Verdugo Haalstephen*, neuer from that time after being suffered to return to it again: and within a while after sir *William* him selfe with the remnant, was commanded vnder the lyke

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lyke colour of seruice, to come forth, being tolde that hee shoulde presently retorne into it againe. And by this fine meanes was ealed of his gouernment, and such goods as hee and his souldiers leste, were spoiled & made bootie of. And sithence that time his seminarie souldiers, with all their religion, were neuer trusted in anie towne, nor neuer shalbe I warrant them. From thence they were presently drawen downe into *Brabant*, where they wintered in the field without monie, and in such great miserie and pouertie, that tenne weekes together theyr chiefeest foode and sustenance in *Turnolt*, was vn-poudered acornes, which they founde in cellers: which dyet the Priests not liking of, came to theyr Coronell to *Antwarpe*, who to auoide the lamentations and complaints of his souldiers, had gotten him there a lodging, where you should neuer haue found his table without a squadron of priests. Some did wonder, so worthy a souldier could suffer their indignities, which to auoide, some yeeres since hee went into Spaine: partlye to secure vnto himselfe some estate of liuing, of which he now considering this dealing, began to doubt: partly by the inuitation of the Iesuities, with which order hee is exceedingly inchantred, & to them wholly subiected: who dealt for him in such sorte with the Cardinall, that he presently sent *Parsons* awaie into Spaine, to informe the King of his worthinesse, vertue, and experience of the sea coastes of England, but especially of his intelligence about Irelande, which in truth hee presumeth to bee verie greate. *Parsons*



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plaide his part in such sort, that sir *William* was presently sent for: who vpon his ariuall, did what hee could, to perswade the king to send forces for Ireland: but belyke there was not such credite giuen him as hee expected, insomuch that he wrote Letters to *H. Holt* the Iesuite in *Brusels* (which is one of those on whom he chiefly relyeth) of great discontentment, signifieng, that his entertainment was far colder than he expected. Within short space after, he was sent downe to the kings Nauie, lying at *Cocania*, whereas yet he remaineth. In the meane time his regiment began to drop and droupe awaie, in such sort, that what for lacke of sustenance, & what for ill vsage, the number of them was melted to an hundred and fiftie: which base and villanous vsage the grauest and wisest of his Captaines seeing, especially abhorring the trecherous practises of theyr Coronell, made by secrete meanes humble intercession to her most gracious *MAISTIE*, to pardon theyr offences committed, and to grant them libertie to liue in their Country: which of her most princely and royall benignitie shee graunted, so as now they liue here in honest and good sort, & can testifie all this which I haue sayd to be true.

Hauiing gotten sir *William* out of *Deuenter*, yet *Torke* still remained a blemish in their eie, who alwaies, notwithstanding theyr base vsage, stil flourished & bare his head aloft, ranging ouer the whole countrie with his Companie, bringing in daylye many great and rich booties: Him therefore fairly on a daie at dinner, they caused to bee poysoned, where

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where likewise were poisoned with him yong *Richard Souch*, & *Robert Fen* priest: but hee belike hauing swallowed the best Boncon, they only met with the drams, so that he dyed miserablie, and they fell sick and brake out into many pustles & biles, yea afterwards recouered, and did giue this testimony. His breath was no sooner out of his bodie, but *Fiorias* a Spaniard, and *Fandenberg*, the newe gouernour of *Deuenter*, rushte into his lodging to breake vp his coffers, in which beeing withstoode by *Torkes* lieutenant *Edward Boncer*, and his brother, they caused their gards at noone dayes to enter in vpon them, and to murder them both in theyr own presence: which done, they brake vp his coffers, tooke out his iewels, plate, and mony, of which they found great store, appropriating the same to theyr townes vse, which he by Testament had giuen to a little youth his nephew, being now at this present in *England*. Lastly, they chased his whole companie out of the towne, and spoiled theyr baggage at the gates. The poore souldiers beeing thus inhumanely deprived of their Captaine and Lieutenant, and seeing them selues so vilely dealt with, repaired to *Verlago* for releefe, who for recompence presently cashiered them all without the receipt of one pennie.

Afterwardes they gaue out and published, that *Torke* was poisoned by subornation of the counsell of *England*, but as there had bene no other proofes (as there were infinite) yet the sequele of their doings, their murdering of his friends, and their robbing of his treasure, shewed by whom it was done,

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and whereat they aimed.

If these examples bee not inough, to serue the turne, but that perchance you wil saie, he hath delt better with priuate men. If you can name mee but anie one that he hath raised or aduanced to honor, or that liueth richly or wealthily in his seruice, I wil name you an hundred, that beeing Gentlemen of good houses and of worthie merite, haue consumed, languished, and beene brought to nothing in his seruice, some of them perished & died for lacke of sustenance. You perchance will name *Hugh Owen*, and in good faith hee is the onely man that euer I knew aduanced, credited, or graced in his seruice. And yet (God wot) all that hee getteth, is no more than to maintain him in a meane estate and shew, with a man onely or two to serue him. Where on the other side I will reckon you vp of those that are onely for want of thinges necessarie, and of pure pouertie consumed and dead, *M. Copley, L. Daters, Michael Tempest, olde Norton, Tremaine, Stradling, Henrie Carew, Edward Allen, Spushwell*, with sundrie others of good race and credite in their Countrey: *Copley* being sicke at *Benere*, and in vnspeakable distresse and calamitie, desired a Gentleman his kinsman, one *Lo. Lewkner*, to beseech *Pedro de Olane*, who then was Treasurer, to paie him vpon an assignation which hee had, onely fise pounds, protesting that at that present his lyfe might therewith be saued. The Gentleman performed his request with all instance and fidelitie, as he hath often times told me, but coule not obtaine one pennie. Where-  
vpon



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vpon hee mooued the Duke, but nothing woulde come, so that without finding anie man that tooke compassion of his distresse, his owne Countie-men beeing vnable to helpe him, he ended his lyfe, though with patience vertuously and well, yet the state of so honourable a Gentleman considered, most pittifully, and in great miserie.

To recite vnto you the names of those that doo yet liue so poorely and vncomfortably in his pension, woulde bee too long, and therefore take them all in generall (*Charles Paget* onely excepted) and examine them one from another, from my Lord of *Westmerland* downward, euen to the verie lowest: and if there bee in the whole worlde a more miserable and discontented troupe of Gentlemen than they are, let mee neuer bee credited in anie thing else that I shall tell you. And because you shall your selfe the better iudge, I wyll tell you what paiment they haue, of such pensions as the king hath giuen them.

They had granted them at *Bruges* the first daie of August, in the yeere one thousand five hundred eightie and eight, a generall *Liberanca*, to receyue three moneths paie a peece of their pensions, since that time they haue followed the Duke from Towne to Towne, making vnto him sundrye requestes for the payment thereof. But if they haue vntill this present daie obtayned the same, then let mee not be credited in anie parte of the rest which I shall heere intreate of. In deede some small time past, *Cosimo* beeing wearyed  
with

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with their importunities and lamentations, addres-  
sed them to *Baptista Spinola*, a baker dwelling it *Ant-  
warpe*, giuing them his Letter, and sending the same  
by one *H. Haselwood*, requesting him to relieue those  
distressed English Gentlemen, and to buy their *Li-  
beranca*, which he doubted not but they would sell  
good cheap, greatly to his profit: the whole summe  
was ten thousand crownes, which *Cosimo* promised  
him should be allowed; and paid in the reckoning  
he had with the king. *Haselwood* in the name of the  
rest, offered him the sayd summe for sixe hundred.  
But *Spinola* vsterly refused the same, saying he wold  
not take it for two hundred, and withall hee desi-  
red that hee might not meddle any more with the  
king, wishing that hee had not medled with him so  
much. So that they were faine to returne penniless,  
and doo at this instant liue in so poore and pittysfull  
sort, that truly my heart griueth to see it, insomuch  
that I knew a Gentleman that solde his parte there,  
being foure and twentie pounds, for three pounds.  
But perchance you will saie, he giueth great pen-  
sions, and entertaineth manye of our Nation: it is  
true in deede, in shew hee doth so, and therewyth  
doth bleare the worldes eyes with a shew of greate  
liberalitie. But his paiment and vsage considered,  
(God is my iudge and witnesse) I speake vnfaigned-  
ly, I account it a farre happier estate to bee a doore-  
keeper in that your blessed soile, than to be heere a  
pensioner to the king of *Spaine*. I leaue the iudge-  
ment of the truth thereof, to those that haue tryed  
it: you haue many amongst you, confer with them,  
and

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and examine them vpon their consciences: as for my part, in good faith I cannot imagine cause why he entertaineth vs, vnlesse it be to vse vs as stales, to allure others, considering the hatred that he and his beare vs, and so vnder the dissembled colour of a false affection, to ouerthrow vs all at last.

Thus much I dare boldly saie, because through the conference I haue had with them, I doo know assuredly, that euen those of our nation which doo most serue his turne, howsoeuer in outward appa-  
 rance they seem for some particular causes to magnifie and extoll his liberalitie, yet in their owne secret conceits they do imagine & know nothing in the world to be more reprochfull, base, and contemptible, than to be an Entertaindo in the king of Spaines seruice. As for example: you shall easilie see what account is made of them. At such time as preparation was made at *Brussels* for the voyage of Englande, when they all expected to bee made knights, coronels, captaines, and conducters of the armie, and to be filled with crownes, they were so farre from those matters with which they flattered themselves, that instead of being honored and ad-  
 uanced, they were the onely reiected and con-  
 demned people that followed the Courte, all men beeing releued with some moneths paie (they onely excepted) and which is more, whereas they moued the Duke sundry times to knowe his plea-  
 sure, how hee woulde dispose of them in this iour-  
 ney, telling him besides, that vpon the well vsage of them, depended much matter of importaunce, as



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the alluring & drawing vnto them other gentlemen of theyr kinsmen and friendes, who vppon hope of the lyke good vsage, honour, and aduauncement, woulde bee able to doo greate service vppon their landing: where contrariwise, in seeing them come ouer so poore in shew, without credite, monie, or armes, lyke lackies, for so were the wordes of theyr request, it woulde bee a cause to terrifie them from vndertaking anie such course. They were by the Duke scornefully and with derision reiected, neither did he vouchsafe to giue them anie other answer, than onely that hee woulde thinke vppon it. But on the night that they thought to embarke, he departed, leauing them all behind, not thinking them anie waie worthie to bee called vppon, or to bee taken with him. Wherevpon the Lord *Westmerland* and *Paget*, and sundrie others, layd their heads together, and made their complaint to the Duke of *Pastrana*, by whome they were as basely and scornfully handled as by the other, insomuch that a great Spaniarde standing by, asked them whether they thought the king of Spaine not puissant enough to winne England, without them and theyr friendes. Vppon which answer the Lord *Paget*, that verily thought hee shoulde haue beene made one of the priuie Councell, and now finding himselfe to bee had in so small account, conceiued such an inward grieve, that from that time forward hee neuer ioyed tyll his dying daie. Sir *William Standley* also tooke it in such heauie and disdainfull sorte, that he was not called to the counsell of warres, where-  
as

### *English fugitives.*

as hee presumed, and so gaue out, that no man in the army knew more, or was better able in this voyage than himselfe, that he sequestred himselfe from the Country, and came malecontent, and hired an house in *Antwarpe*, where hee liued a most melancholy lyte foure or fise moneths, and oftentimes would burst out into such impassionate speeches, that the world verily imagined he wold haue professed himselfe into a cloister.

Besides, the loue the Spaniarde beareth vs, appeareth by the speeches hee dayly vseth in publyke assemblies concerning vs. Once seeing certayne English-men passe by, as they stood a great manie of them in a ring, (as they vse) together vppon the bridge in *Antwarpe*, they sayde, They wondered what the king made with such vermine in his country, one of them swearing a greate oath, that looke how many English-men there were in the Lowe countries, there were so many spies and traitours. Another sayd, it were an almes deede to put them all in sackes, and throw them into the riuer. I could recite a thousand more such speeches, but that they are not worth the remembering. They are so ielous and suspicious of vs, that if anie thing proue vntowardly in their seruice, they thinke it straight to be done by our especiall meanes and intelligence. As vpon the taking of *Axhil* by that braue and worthie souldyer Sir *Phillip Sidney*, of worthie memorie, *Mondragon* presently imprisoned *Paget* within the Castle, tooke awaie all things whatsoeuer that hee had woorth anie thing, and the rest

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he cauſed his men to riſe and ſteale, ſaying openly that we are all traitors and ſpies. To confirme the confidence they haue in vs, tell mee what companies of Engliſh they haue truſted within theſe ten yeeres in garriſon? I am ſure you cannot name one. And whereas ſundrie Gentlemen amongſt vs haue inſtantly ſued to haue their penſions granted them in the caſtle of *Aniwarpe* or *Gaunt*, becauſe the payment is there ſomewhat better: No one hath hitherto bene able to attaine the ſame: ſo vile & baſe is the reckoning they make of vs. I coulde alleadge vnto you many other examples, of ſundry diſgraces offered vnto our Nation, whereby we might (if we liſt) eaſily diſcouer the hatred they beare vs, the ſuſpition they haue of vs, and the danger wherein we ſtande, to haue one daie our throats cut. But this I hope, which I haue already rehearſed, ſhall ſuffice fully to aſſure and perſuade you, that here is no advancement, wealth, or reputation to be gotten, but pouertie, perill, iealouſie, and diſgrace.

Now let vs ſee, touching the point of conſcience, and reſpoſe in religion, if the ſame bee to bee found here, ſuch as you expect. In matter of religion, I wil not take it vpon mee to diſpute, becauſe it were to digreſſe from my purpoſe, and beſides, I neuer ſtudied diuinitie: onely making compariſon between the comfortable freedome of the one, and the diſpayring ſlauiery of the other, laying on the one ſide indulgences, pilgrimages, forged reliques, fabulous deuices, and auricular confeſſions: on the other ſide, the merites and paſſion of our Sauour Ieſus  
Christ,



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Christ, the invocation of his holie name, and true penitence proceeding from a contrite heart: on the one side mens traditions, and on the other side, the sincere and holy word of our sauiour. I thinke the choice is not harde to make for him whose heart is not hindered with obstinaele and selfe-will opinion. But leauing this, and allowing your religion to be good, let vs come to the cōentment which you might heere receiue in free vslage of the same, together with the conseruatiō of such other your countrie men which here do professe the same religion. First, I thinke you are not ignorant of the broyles, diuisions, seditions, and factions, which are heere among them, some they call Patriots, some Iesuites, some ouer negligent & carelesse in religion, other some ouer pure and hypocriticall, some dunces state men, but the notablest of all these factions, is that betweene our Cardinall Doctor *Allen*, and *D. Lewis* Bishop of *Casane*: on these two parties are all dependant, and so must you be also, if you were here, or otherwise cleauing to neither of them, you shoulde bee counted enemy to them both, and so within short space might put vp your pipes, for you shuld be sure to be put vp for a spye, or at the least so to be crossed in all your matters & pretences, that you wold quickly, I warrant you, be weary of such entertainment: on the other side, imbracing the one, what enuie, what defamation, what slander should you not be subiect vnto? On the other side what oathes and solempne depositions must you make? Finally, you woulde thinke there were no

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greater purgatorie than to liue among theſe diſcensions, iarres, and tumults. Theſe two factions I tell you off, haue fought to ouerthrowe one anothers credite in the chiefeſt courtes in Chriſtendome, coſſing to and fro ſuch foule and filthie deſamations, that all men almoſt cryed out agaynſt them both, On the other ſide of the Cardinall, are dependant *Hugh Owen*, with the Ieſuites and their retinue of fauorites. On the other ſide the Biſhop of *Dunghane* a Scottiſh-man, the Lorde *Paget* whileſt hee liued, *Charles Paget*, *Thomas Morgan*, the two *Throgmortons*, *Ra. Liegins*, &c. The beginning heereof aroſe about the Cardinalſhippe, to which both *Allen* and *Lewes* were competitor; each one for the obtaining thereof applyed his friendes to the vttermoſt, but at length thorough the inſtant purſuite of the Ieſuites, and of theiſe faction, were for euer after mortally hated, all thoſe that had bin wayes or fautors to Doctor *Lewes*, but chiefly and among the reſt *Thomas Throgmorton*, who had bene one of the earneſteſt in that purſuite. The Ieſuites ſince haue had many a plucke at him, but *Morgan* beeing wiſe, ſtrengthened himſelfe alwayes wyth ſuch friendes, that they coulde neuer doo him any hurt, but rather ſecretly hee galled them; the which they ſeeing, and perceiuing that that was not the waie to bee reuenged of him, they tooke another courſe, and that was this: One euening as hee came from the Church, they cauſed him to be aſſaulted by a young man called *Gage*, who giuing him on the ſodayne a grieuous blowe vpon the face,

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face, presently made hast awaie, and so for that time escaped, but was afterwarde by my Lorde *Pagets* meanes and earnest pursuite apprehended. The Iesuites and their parte seemed at the first to denie that they had beene the causers of that fact, but the sequele of theyr proceedinges made it most apparant vnto the whole world. For when *Morgan*, my Lorde *Paget*, and diuerse of their parte, laboured verie instantlye and with often petitions vnto the Duke, to haue the rigour and seueritie of iustice to proceede against him, of whome they had receiued this greate iniurie; they to stoppe theyr mouthes, and to preuent the mischiete that might insue, found no better meanes than to accuse *Morgan* of treason, laying to his charge fundrie pointes of trecherie touching the Queene of *Scotland*. Besides, they accused him to haue beene a setter on of *Gifford* & his assistances, in such practises as hee had vndertaken by sir *Francis Malsinghams* warrant, and to that end sent *Chryston*, the Scottish Iesuite, to *Paris*, to take *Giffords* examination. And withall, they made some of their adherents to take theyr oath before their Auditour generall, that in theyr conscience they thought *Morgan* to bee a traitour and a spie: vnto the taking of which oath also, they laboured earnestlie with fundrie others, which (they not hauing theyr consciences so saleable as some of them) had refused and vterlye denyed to doo: yet in the meane time while these thinges were in hand, with their forged accusations they wrought so, that *Morgan* was apprehended & clapt

vp



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vp in cloſe priſon, whereas yet hee remaineth. But this broile hath opened ſuch ſoule matters, both of the one ſide and of the other, that the whole Nation is therewith infamed, and held to be traitors & ſpies, and in good faith, in my iudgement, not vnworthily.

Good ſir, take it not in ill parte, that I write thus boldly vnto you: for as neere as I can, my indeuor is to let you knowe what hell, torment, and vexation it is to liue heere, among this vnquiet, troubleſome, & traiterous crew. I meane not this by them all, for there are among them ſome well diſpoſed and honeſt gentlemen, whom they vſe in ſuch malicious and wicked ſorte, that they make them in a manner wearie of theyr liues. But the pretieſt of all is, to ſee how ſmoothly they handle the matter with you in England, and how they do abuſe your ſimplicite. They make you and other Catholykes of England beleeue, that what practiſes and driftes ſo euer they take in hand, are all for the zeale of religion and aduancement of the Catholike cauſe, & the ſeely ſouls thinke all they ſaie is Goſpell, whereas (God wot) religion is the leaſt matter of an hundred they thinke vpon. The only point they ſhoot at, being loſt Companies at home, is to make them ſelues great heere, and to make you hazarde your liues, reputation, and credit: and therefore they are alwaies breeding of practiſes and conſpiracies both within and without the realme, caring not what ſucceſſe they take: if they proue well, then they will haue the praiſe, merite, honor, and reward thereof:  
if

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if otherwisa, then they saie their good will must be accepted, and therewith they thinke to winne the reputation to be counted great state-men, and contriuers of waighthy matters, not caring in the meane time, for the securitie of them by whome they worke, as appeareth by the example and fall of many braue Gentlemen of England, whome they by theyr trecherous practises haue brought to ruine and destruction. They verie well knew, that when they first began to set abroach the matter of *Babington* and his disloyall confederates, that the effectation thereof was altogether vnpossible, as *Mendoza* the Spanish embassador told *Ballard* the priest, their instrument in contriuing the same, when hee was first brought vnto him in *Paris* by *C. Paget*, to desire him with all speed to informe the Kings his master of their intention, & withall, that at a daie appointed they might haue some force and asistaunce of men readie to corespond with them: but that was all one, so they might bee counted men of greate reach, and dealers in such high state matters, they spared not to proceede in inchanting those poore vnexperienced young Gentlemen, in such sorte, as to the whole world is manifest, and need not to be recited. Let all Gentlemen in England, especiall ye papists, take heed and beware of their mischieuous broode of caterpillers, for they speake so deuoutly, looke so smoothly, and write with such counterfeited grauitie and holines, that it is hard for any man to eschue their deadly baits, vnlesse he thoroughly doo first know their trechery, vnder which they do

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colour

## *The Usage of the*

colour and shroude them. What hath brought master *Shellie* into these his extreame troubles and perill of lyfe, if her gracious Maiestie of her greate clemency & merciful disposition had not regarded him with the eyes of pittie? Likewise, what hath brought the late Earle of *Northumberland* into trouble and calamitie, and finally to that desperate and miserable end, but onely these outlandish practises, & their conference with counterfeite *Mops*, I meane *C. Paget*, who was sent out of France by this seditious troupe, to vndermine and ouerthrowe both the one and the other? What besides hath beene the cause of bringing so many other Gentlemen to the losse of their liues and liuings, that liued before in ease, repose, and securitie of conscience: and which is more, were it not that that plot contriued the death of the Queene of *Scotland*, by setting her in continuall practise, one vppon another, agaynst the sacred person and royall state of our most gracious soveraigne Queene, so that of violent necessitie, her Maiestie though vnwilling and with great griefe, at the generall and instant petition of all her Graces most louing and faithfull subiectes, whose onely weale and comfort dependeth vppon her long lyfe and prosperitie, to satisfie them, and to preserve the state of her noble & flourishing realme in quyet, was constrained by cutting off that rankled and infected parte, to yeelde ease, remedie and comfort to the rest of the whole bodie. I saye not this onely of my selfe, though I and all the worlde else doo knowe it to bee verie true: but these their  
dealings



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dealings haue made them hatefull and destable euen to those of their owne religion. For that a fresh Iesuite tearmeth them all in generall in a Booke, which hee hath written touching the Queene of Scotlandes death, a viperous, mischieuous, and faithlesse kinde of people, trecherous to those they deale withall, disdainfull, arrogant, ambitious, and worthy to be extermined out of the vtmost bounds of the worlde. Besides many other such goodly epethites, with which hee beautifies them in their colours, his whole booke beeing nothing else but railing against English papistes, wishing all princes, noble men and Gentlemen whatsoeuer, to beware and take heed of them: and that in such earnest, vehement, and inuectiue manner, that it is not possible to be more.

But some man perchance may demaund of me what theyr meaning heerein maye bee, or what credite, commoditie or gayne might haue allured them to enter into these before sayd, so wicked and detestable imaginations.

For aunswere heereunto: first I tolde you, that so they might bee accounted and reputed for greate state-men, high spirited, and greate of action, to procure that reputation and estimation they care not whose estate they indaunger. But besides all this which wee haue alreadie spoken of, they haue also further meanings and driftes, as those that doo looke deeplyest and dilygentest into theyr actions, doo verilye imagine, and haue bene by sundrie their proceedinges euidently

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discouerd, amongst which, the chiefeſt is, that as they are of all people liuing the moſt ambitious, ſo ſeeing this beggerly ſeruiſe dooth not fit theyr humour, they doo feed themſelues with an imagination of the time to come, I meane a Spaniſh or po-piſh world in this our countrie, at which time then they doubt not, the long time of their exile, ſufferance, and lacke of liuing conſidered (for ſo is their phraſe and manner of ſpeech) to become mightye and great men, and to haue the principall rule, ſway dignitie, and great authoritie in our countrie. Marrie againe on the other ſide, conſidering that they are but baſe companions of birth and liuing, and that there are in England many gentlemen of great qualitie and houſes of the ſame religion, that wold diſdain to haue ſuch mates preferred before the in race, quality or degree: they haue gon (by al means poſſible they can) aboute by praſtiſe or colourable deuices to roote them out, to ſeruing their turnes two waies: the one to winne reputation of men of ſeruiſe: the other, to rid themſelues of other competitours. But (God be thanked) the chiefeſt harme their conſpiracies haue done hether to, hath ben to themſelues, and they confounded in their own deuices. And yet for all this, ſo many tragickall endes of their ſo many traiterous proceedinges, are they not moued with any ſparke of repentaunce. Neyther hath the ruine of ſo many of you their countrie men wrought and contriued by their praſtiſe, allurement, and perſwaſion, bred in them anie feeling of remorſe or conſcience, but rather are thereby  
discouerd  
animated

### *English fugitives.*

animated & encouraged to let new deuises abroch, with meaning in deed by sowing seditions among you, & by oppoling you against the state, to make you the onely instruments of the others ruine, and so to make the waie open to the Spanish tyrant, to which end there is no weeke but they receiue spies and spials from you. Insomuch that (I speake vpon good assuraunce) there are at this instant among you aboute three hundred seditious beggerlyc priests, sent ouer by them to no other purpose. A little before the comming of the Spanish fleet, they sent foure priests and two Iesuites, in disguised apparell, throughly instructed to sound the meaning of such Gentlemen, as they thought to be of theyr religion, and to incline their minds to the Spanish cause, encouraging them to take Armes against her MAJESTY, to which end they printed in English many hundreds of bookes in *Antwarpe*, barrelling them vntill such time as the Armie should haue bene landed, and then their meaning was to haue dispersed them, full of the most blasphemous speeches and proud traiterous menaces, as well agaynst her Maiestie, as against you all in generall, as neuer (I thinke) the like was heard of.

Besides, they haue obtained of the Pope, and of the king, that as many as had their voices in the parliament house, at such time as the Queene of *Scotland* was adiudged to die, of what degree so euer they were, should be deprived not onely of theyr liues and liuings, but that their posteritie also shuld be for euer dis-inherited and disanulled. The lyke



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also they threatned in their bookes to all such, as well noble men as others, that should after the landing of the Spaniards armie, persist in arms against the same. But all this by the goodnesse of God hath but serued to discouer their wicked intentions, and to animate all true Christian Englishmen, to persist with the greater loue, vnitie and courage in their obedience to her Maiestie.

But returning againe my speeches to you, (O vnnatural English-men) to those whom you should obey trecherous and vnfaithfull, and of those that you doo obey contemned and made slaues! how can you indure to thirst after the destruction of so sweete a countrie, in which you receiued your being, and that gaue you nuriture being yong? What religion must that be, that animateth you to seeke subuersion of so benigne a princeesse and of so glorious an estate? The olde worthie Romanes thought it the most heroycall thing that might bee, to vowe themselues sometimes to death for their countrie, and euen to spend their liues in defence of their alters, temples, and monumentes of their Elders: and you seeke to see your Countrie bathing in the bloud of your parents, kindred, and friendes, to see your cities, temples, and auncient monuments flaming in the fire, to see your virgines defloured, and further, to bring the noblest nations to perpetuall slauerie and seruitude; yea, and that of the most base, wicked, proude and cruellest nation that liueth, a nation not yet fully an hundred yeeres since wholie they receiued Christianitie,  
and

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and as yet are in their heartes a greate number of them, pagans & moores, from profession of which, they are onelye helde by the seuerer bridle of the sanguinarye and most cruell Heathen Inquisition.

But that Paganisme of theirs, which in theyr profession they dare not shew, they do in theyr tyranie, blasphemie, sodomie, crueltie, murther, adulterie, and other abominations sufficiently discover. If the *Nunamantines*, *Saguntines*, and *Nessatigis* burnt their townes, slewe theyr wiues and children, and familie themselves, rather than they woulde receiue the yoke of worthie and vertuous Nations that inuaded them, What should we then doo, whome our vertuous auncestours haue leste honoured with the innumerable trophies of many victories, rather than to indure the insolent, wicked, and tyrannous gouernment of that Nation, whome all Europe hath in horroure, leauing to our posteritie after vs a perpetuall seruitude and bondage, and an euerlasting memorie of our cowardise.

But leauing this vntill a fitter time, I hope this that is alreadye sayde shall bee sufficient to make you cleerely and plainly vnderstande, that there is not to bee obtayned the sweetnesse, libertie, and tranquillitie of conscience which you expecte and looke for, but rather turmoile and grieue of minde, with a perpetuall grudging and remorse of conscience, scandalized with infinite and innumerable examples of ill lyfe, impierie, sodomie,

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sodomie, blasphemie, defamation, and periurie. On the other side, towards her Maiestie and the state of your country, you shall be helde & reputed as a traitor, and of those whom you shal here serue, no better, who make no further reckning of any of vs, than as of base people, fugitiues out of our cuntry for debt, theeuerie, or some one hainous crime or other, thinking it a matter impoissible (howsoeuer we disguise the same vnder pretext of religion) that anie man beeing in his cuntry of honest calling or meanes to liue, should be so senselesse as to exchange the same for a condition so base, beggerly, and infamous, as that which wee doo heere indure: And so did a Spanish Captaine in playne tearms signifie to sir *William Standley*, as they passed in the ordinarie boote betweene *Antwarp* and *Brusfels*.

But now to the third point of my Discourse, concerning the mislike which sundrie of you haue of her Maiesties gouernment, and the state of your cuntry at this present, to seeke to transport your selues hether as into a hauen of blis & securitie. I will by comparing the one with the other, as neere as I ca, let you see the difference between the both, and so consequently, your errour, as neere as I can gesse, & by report of sundrie coming thence informed, this your disliking proceedeth of two points: The one, that your lawes are too rigorously and seuerely executed against such as professe the catholike religion: The other, that the aduersarie hath buzzed a feare into your heades, making you beleeue



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leeue that the fortres of your state are too feeble to resist so mightie and puissant an enimie as the Spanish king, whose mightie treasures, many dominions, & armies of men they magnifie to the skies, and therefore perchaunce you couet to ioyne betimes, with the partie which you doo thinke most aduantageous for your future securitie & aduancement.

First, touching the persecutions of Catholikes, which our traitors heere so much exclaime vpon, filling whole volumes therewith, and aggreuating the same in tearmes most bitter and lamentable to foraine Nations. Let vs see what reason they haue. I would faine demand one question, If euer they dyd reade, heare, or knowe of anie one King or Queene, that dyd with greater mildnesse of lenitie tollerate or suffer within his or her dominion a sect of religion opposite to the lawes by him or her established, especiallye the same hauing sundrye times rebelliously attempted against their crown, state, and dignitie.

Let them looke (if there be men of iudgement) into the ages passed, euen amongst the Heathen, and into the present time among all the Princes of Europe, and if there bee not anie to be found that hath dealt with the lyke lenitie as her Maiestie hath done, why then doo they so falselye slander her? Doe they not knowe that shee is the sacred and anointed Queene appointed by God to gouerne them? If they doo, why doo they not then with all penitencie and humilitie, loue, honor, and obey  
F her,

### *The Vſage of the*

her, and praying to God to conuerther (ſeeing ſuch is theyr deſire) and not by traiterous miſchiefe ſeek to murder and depriue her. They learned not that of the ancient Chriſtians in the primitiue church. But they will ſaie, ſhe hath executed many ſeminary prieſtes: I confeſſe ſhe hath in deed by cutting them off preſerued her realme from many diſeaſes that rankled within the ſame. But yet hath ſhee proceeded therein in ſo gracious and mercyfull a ſorte, that ſhee hath witneſſed ſufficientlye to the worlde, howe loth ſhee is to come vnto bloud, ſo long as there is anie other remedie in the world to beeyſed. For her MAIESTY knoweth, her counsell knoweth, you and I, and the whole worlde knoweth, that the comming of theſe Seminarieſ, prieſtes, and Ieſuites, to reconcile men, as they rearme it, to the obedience of the Romane church, is direſtlye and abſolutely to alienate and diuerſe their minds from her Maieſtie, and to incline them to bee readie to aſſiſt anie enemye eyther within or without the Realme, that ſhall colour his cauſe vnder the pretext of religion. Her Maieſtie, I ſaie, and Councell, and all good ſubiectes knowing this, and foreſeeing the danger that might thereof inſue, forbade by Act of Parliament theſe Seminarieſ to enter into her Realme, or to vſe or exerciſe anye ſuch ſeditious doctrine, limiting therewithal a time to ſuch as were within the Realme, to departe out of the ſame. But this ſufficed not, theſe good fellowes thinke no lawes good or to bee obeyed, but ſuch as they make themſelues.

In

### *English fugitiues.*

In they came as fast as before, greate numbers of them were taken and imprisoned, whom though her Maiestie deseruedly and with great iustice, (especially the daylye mischief stirred vp within the Realme by theyr seditious practises considered) might haue executed as traitours and rebelles, yet the greatnesse of her princely clemencie and compassion was so loth to come vnto blood, that shee caused them all once more to bee pardoned, and to bee put out of the Realme, but with expresse commaundement neuer to returne in lyke sorte: in dooing otherwise they should bee sure to finde no fauour. All this woulde not serue theyr turnes, but in despite of her Maiestie and contempt of her lawes, sundrie of them returned, of which some of them beeing taken, haue receiued the hire of theyr gracelesse disobedience and rebellious attemptes.

But that her Maiestie seeketh nor blood, as they most falsely giue out, appeareth by her clemencie vsed to sundrie of them, taken by her souldiers in the Lowe Countries, who though they were of sir *William Standley* his crewe and adherents, her most professed enemies, yet seeing they were not taken within England, shee graciously pardoned them, and caused to be set at libertie, in giuing some litle recompence to those souldiers that had taken them prisoners. Where is then her rigour you speake of? I hope the king of Spaine keepeth another manner of rule in his Countries, ouer all *Spaine*, *Portugall*, *Lombardie*, *Naples*, and *Cicilia*, who soeuer speaketh a word, or maketh the leest sign in the world to mislike



## *The Vsage of the*

his religion there established, or anie one pointe or ceremonie thereof, his cruell ministers the Inquisitours, cause without remission to bee burnt aliue: as for example, There was this last yeere a Citizen in *Antwarpe*, one *Gyles Rat* a shoemaker, that going into *Spaine* about some busines, was apprehended for smiling at the Image of our Ladie, brought before the Inquisitours, and by them presentlie condemned to fire, and with him an English-man for the lyke cause, whose name the Gentleman that sawe them burned knew not: but hee tolde mee that at the time of their execution, there mounted on a scaffolde thereby two Iesuites, forbidding the people vpon paine of Excommunication to praie for them, saying that they had deliuered them both ouer in bodie and soule to the deuill, as those that died obstinate and wilful heretikes. I woulde faine knowe how hee would doo with Ministers, if hee shoulde catch them in *Spaine*, as the Queene hath done priests in England. As for his Lowe Counties, I neuer heard but of two taken, and that was at the siege of *Dermond*, and they were both put in to sackes by the Spaniardes, and throwen into the riuer.

This is in deede tyrannie, and not that which her Maiestie doth, who is alwaies readie to receiue into grace and fauour those of whome shee hath anie hope that they will become good subjects, and hath (as I haue heard) offered euen at the houre of their death her princely mercy and fauour to some of them, if they woulde haue promised to become good

### *English fugitives.*

good subiects.

Oh how different from this is their proceeding heere which you see so highly commended ! But it is the nature of men, especiallye of those, whose iudgements are not settled as they shoulde bee, alwaies to mislike and loath those thinges to which they are accustomed, thinking other to them vnknown far better. If you did but once see the tyrannous vsage & explication that is vsed in matter of religion to the poore people vnder the Spanish government in this Countrie, I doubt not but you would be of another opinion, especially the woful flauerie considered in which the cleargie, or rather the rauening multitude of Iesuites, Friers, Monkes and priests doo keepe their minde subiected. It is not sufficient that they holde their mindes in a perpetuall despaire, pronouncing vppon euerie frivoulous point damnation vnto them : but withal, they compell them perforce to offeringes, to buying of pardons and indulgences, to giue them money towarde the reparation of their Churches, pictures, images, and waxe candles, alwaies hauing one deuice or other in hand to robbe them, and to drawe from them their substance : for whosoener yeeldeth not to euerie of these demands, is presentlie an heretike.

The best houses in the Towne they take violently from the true owners, and appropriate vnto themselves, saying it is meete that God should first be serued before man. There is no one daie but the poore citizens are punished and pestered with one

## *The Vsage of the*

or other of their orders of Friers, Monkes, Mendicants, Capuchines, Candles, and monie towards the reparation of their Churches, and which they must not bee denied, vnlesse you will bee presently accused for an heretike.

But the best is, to see how bulie and diligent they are when they heare of a wealthie man that lyeth sicke, and is in danger of death. This is their chiefeft haruest and most *optima prada*: then they commend vnto him the pouertie of their cloister, and the merite that hee shoulde gaine, as beeing for euer to be remembred in theyr masses, as one of theyr benefactors: the Iesuits and Cordelleres are at this present in proceffe in Spaine about this matter of visitation of sicke men, *in articulo mortis*. The Iesuites saie that it appertaines vnto them, because theyr profession is actiue, and alwaies stirring among the flocke, and to doo good in the worlde abroad, whereas that of the Cordelleres is contemplatiue, and so by consequence, most decent that they shoulde containe themselves within theyr cloysters.

The Cordelleres on the other side replie, that theyr profession is meeknesse, innocencie, and pouertie, and to doo good vnto all men. As for the Iesuites, that they are proude, ambitious, aspiring, medlers in matters of state, men of great riches, and couetous of more, and therefore by no meanes to bee admitted to such as lye at the article of death. The matter hath beene much argued of, and greatly debated in Spaine, and besides, the Iesuites haue  
openly



### *English fugitiues.*

openly inueighed agaynst them in the publyke schooles of *Louaine*: yet notwithstanding how euer the crie goeth agaynst them, they holde theyr owne. But this by the waie, seeing it comes so well to our purpose, I cannot choose but tell you a pretie least that happened this last Summer in these partes.

A Marchant of *Antwarpe*, whose name was *Hamiel*, beeing sicke of a consumption or feauer ethike, the Iesuities knowing him to bee a man of great possessions, and without children, presentlye repayred vnto him vnder colour of spirituall consolation, laying before him the vanitie of this lyfe, and the certaintie of the worlde to come: wyth fundrie other perswasions, as of all men lyuing they haue their tongues most at will, withall, commending vnto him their order, as of all other the most meritorious, perfect, and acceptable to God, and to which our holyc father the Pope and his predecessors haue granted more indulgences than to anie other order whatsoeuer: they brought the poore man, being of himselfe simple, into their societie, thinking that there was no other waie to bee saued, and withall, before hand infeofed their college with his land, which was two hundred pound a yeere, giuing them besides, much goods and riche moueables, and when he had so done, died within three moneths after the same: his next heires, by counsell of their friends, put the Iesuities in sure, agaynst which, though they opposed themselues withall vehemencie, yet to their great shame and reprehension

### *The vsage of the*

reprehension, sentence was giuen agaynst them. Notwithstanding they woulde not giue ouer, but by the meanes, aid, and support of president *Pameley*, who is one of theyr best children, they appealed from thence to the councell of *Brussels*, getting the cause after sentence giuen to bee remooued, a thing vnusuall or scarcely euer heard off before, as yet there the proceffe hangeth, by hooke or by crooke it is thought they will haue it in the ende. Another time a riche and wealthie Marchaunt of *Antwarp*, but one in that point whose deuotion and scrupulocitie ouer-went his wisdom, comming to them in confesion, and telling them of some vniust gaine with which he felt his conscience touched, they presently with sundrie terrifieng speeches, tolde him that hee was in the state of damnation, out of which hee coulde not bee deliuered, vntyll such time as hee had made restitution as well of that confessed, as of all other monie and goods that hee had by vsurie vnlawfully gotten, laying before him, *Quod non dimittitur peccatum nisi restituatur oblatum*: with sundrie other such sentences, of which they had store: in fine, they put the poore man into such feare of conscience, that he yelded to make restitution, if so the same might bee done without his vndooing, discredite, or shame. Whereupon to comfort him againe, but in deede fearing least that if they dealt too rigoroullie with him they shoulde get nothing, they tolde him, that if in stead of all such interest and iniuries, with which hee felte his conscience burdened, hee would onely be content  
to

### *English fugitiues.*

to deliuer vnto them some such summe of monie, as without his vndooing, he thought conueniently he might spare, they woulde take it vpon their soules to see the said summe imployed vpon good, vertuous, and charitable vses, to the greater benefite and merite of his soule, and as a thing more acceptable to God, and lesse scandelous to the world than if he should make restitution to whome it appertained, and that were by that his vsurie interested. Whereupon the Marchant beeing well satisfied in conscience, gaue them the monie, and they him their absolution.

But I will holde you no longer with the recitall of these things, of which, if I would intreate, theyr impietie would yeeld mee too much matter. My principall meaning and intention onely, beeing to let you see, that vnder heauen there is no state so wickedly, impiously, and deuouringly gouerned in matter of religion and conscience, as these here vnder the Spaniard. I thinke the recitall of their miseries woulde rather breede in you admiration than beleefe, so farre doth the same exceed the compasse of all other tyrannies that euer were vsed, there being no calamitie in the worlde of which they haue not tasted of. Their noble men & rulers, in whose vertue and courage consisted their chieftest refuge in times past, when they were wronged and tyrannized, haue bene murthred, strangled, poysoned, and slaine by the bloudie ministers of theyr cruell king: they are taxed in great summes, and numbers of men sent violently into France and forren wars,

G.

and



### *The Vsage of the*

and the relikes of their nobilitie forced to go wyth them in person, to their apparant slaughter, leauing in the meane time theyr countries in prairie to the enimie, theyr villages flaming in fire, & theyr towns battered about theyr eares with the Cannon, theyr priuiledges are by wrong and tyrannie taken from them, their cities that sometimes striued with opulencie and glorie with the goodliest and greatest of the world, are gouerned by base and barbarous Spaniardes, bridled with theyr garrisons and castles, and forraged and spoiled by them, at such time as their payment faileth. No face of iustice in theyr common-wealth, but the same is pliable to the wil of such strangers as are gouernors of their towns, & captaines of their castles, theyr goodly hauens, harbouring sometimes with innumerable shippes laden with marchandise from all partes of the world, are now frequented euen of the fisher-boates, their trafficke ceased, and theyr townes almost desarte: in the most of which, of tenne houses together, there are scarce three inhabited, theyr villages abroad burned and ouergrown with bushes, their goodlye meddowes and fruitfull pastures drowned many miles wide and longe, by letting in of fluses, and cutting downe ditches. The mansion houses and castelles of theyr Nobilitie abused and throwen downe, theyr errable ground waste and vntilled, insomuch that there a man maye haue as much lande as hee will, and thanks withall, for the onely manuring thereof. As for the poore labouring people of the countrie, for the most parte they are

### *English fugitiues.*

are al starued and consumed with hunger, of which disease, I my selfe haue knowen two thousand die in one summer, so that you may ride in some places an hundred miles without seeing of a man, woman, or childe, vnlesse it be some poore silly soule that commeth creeping out of the woodes hunger starued, more lyke confusitated ghostes, than a lyuing christian creature. And yet all these in a manner happier, because they are at an ende of theyr miseries, than such as doo liue within the inhabited places of the countrie, as Cempine and the land of Wast: and these of all the people in the worlde I take to be the most wretchedst. Ouer euerie village of these are appointed certain horsemen, to whom they are all to paie monethly contribution, some ten poundes, some twentie, and some thirtie, some more and some lesse, I knew one village that paide an hundred poundes euerie moneth, called *Tur-molt*: but they paide it so long, till ail the dwellers ranne awaie, and haue now in a manner left it void of inhabitauntes. Ouer this village and the whole Countrie is appointed a Comissarie called *Sygnio*, for the payment of theyr contributions, of all tyrantes liuing the most cruellest, and of least conscience. Who if they faile, and doo not bring in theyr moneie at the last daie of the moneth, hee sendes foorth troupes of horse-men to take the best of them prisoners, and withall, to driue home to their quarters or garrisons such sheepe, oxen, or cattell whatsoeuer as they finde in those villages, which hee causeth, if the money followe not

### *The vsage of the*

within fiue or sixe daies at the furthest, to be sold at the drum or Trumpet, and with<sup>all</sup> forceth them to paie a great fine, the one halfe of which he retayneth to himselfe, and the other to the souldiers, for their out-roades and forberance of the monie. But the miserie of these poore people endeth not here, for besides all this, they are forced many times to lodge souldiers in their houses, as they march along the countrie vpon seruice, at which time it is incredible what outrages they receiue, theyr cattell killed, their corne threshed out and giuen to horse, their chests broken vp, their goods euen to the very sheetes and tikes of beds, stollen and carried awaie by the souldiers when they march, themselues beaten, and their wiues and their daughters abused: and in fine, what else is to the nature of man grievous and intollerable, they are constrained to indure. Neither is the condition of the poore citizens or townes-men any better, who being forced to receiue garrison, and to lodge souldiers in their houses, imparting to them the best chambers and commodities of the same, neuer hearing from them anie other word, especiallie if they please not them in all their exhorbitant demands, than *Perhamengo, Lutherano, Borchio, &c.* Yet besides, they are daylye wearyed out with continuall exactions and taxations, as the hundreth pennie, the tenth pennie, and once a yeere without faile, the fifthly pennie of all their goods and landes, besides infinite other pillages and gatherings towards the making of rampires, bulwarkes, ballasadowes, counter cerpes, and  
the



### *English fugitiues.*

the reparation of theyr wals, and to giuing of munition, bread, beere, and cheefe, to such souldyers, as shall passe by theyr townes distressed of victualles, with infinite such like. I haue knowen (I speake it of my faith) poore people of *Antwarpe* forced to sell their beddes they lie vppon, to satisfie their tyrannous exactions, which if they should not doo, execution of their goods, attachment of their persons, shoulde presentlye followe. But which is most beyond reason, whereas within the townes the most part of their houses are vacant and vn hired, yet the owners of them are taxed according to the value in which they were wont to bee hired. Insomuch, that in *Antwarpe* and other townes, it is a matter verie vsuall for men to disclaime, and quit their owne houses, thereby to be exempted of such payment as otherwise by reason of the they are charged with, and that they do iurisdictionally before the magistrate, at which time the *Ainan* entereth in, and ecaizeth vpon them to the kings vse. Besides, when as sundrie Gentlemen and other the inhabitants of this countrie, hauing certaine annuall rents issuing out and charged vpon the kings demaines in the Dutchie of *Brabant*, at least to the yeerelye value of ten thousand poundes, some of the which rents haue bene by themselves bought of the states generall, some left vnto them by their parents and predeceffours. The king vniustlye and by tyrannie disanulling the said rents, hath, and doth, without forme of iustice, take into his owne hands the sayd demains, appropriating the vse, commoditie, and reuenue

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## *The Vsage of the*

thereof to the maintenance of his troupes of horse men. But what shall I trouble you anie longer with recounting vnto you the assize, impositions, taxes, extortions, pillages, and heauie intollerable burthens laid vpon this afflicted poore people, by their vniust and cruell king. Compare now (I praie you) heerewith, your estate of gouernment at home, and tell mee which of them two you thinke to bee most fortunate. Doth her MAIESTY deale in this order with you, whose gouernment you so much mislike? Oh God, how can you be so peruerse, seeing the blessednesse wherein shee maintaines you, as not to acknowledge the same? How gentle are the helps and subsidies which she exacteth of you, without the vndooing or hinderance of anie man of whom they are exacted? And on the other side, how profusely spendeth shee her owne treasure for the maintenance of your wiues, and children, and parents, in repose, iustice and securitie. Oh praie to God for her long life and prosperous estate, for in her consisteth the tipe of your felicitie!

But nowe to the other pointe of your mislike. Whereas the aduersarie hath beaten into your heads, that the state standes daungerous, as beeing farre to feeble and not sufficient to withstande and resist so mightie and opposed an enemy as is the king of Spaine, terrifieng with millions of gold and innumerable nations ouer whome hee commandeth, I hope by the cleere and euident reasons I shal shew you, to make you vnderstand that the fame of him is farre greater than his force, and that there is

no

### *English fugitiues.*

no prince this daie in the world whose estate standeth more tickle and readie to ruine than his, and that there is no cause why we should feare him, but many why he should feare vs. First, that hee is the most mightie and oppulent prince of Europe, I doo not denie, if hee had vsed moderation in his greatnesse, and acknowledged the benefites which God hath bestowed vpon him with thankfulnessse. But such is the state whereunto his ambitious aspiring hath at this present brought him, or rather the reuengefull hande of God which hangeth ouer his head for his horrible tyrannies and odious offences, especiallye for his wicked pariacide and murder committed vpon the person of his wife, his sonne, and sundrie others of his best and truest subiects: that he is in the midst of these his riches, indigent, poore, and indebted, vnable to giue satisfaction to such souldiers as he maintaineth, to which end he is forced to extort vpon his poore subiectes, and tyranize ouer them. Of this his indigency and beggerie, we see euerie daie experience here before our eies, his owne naturall subiects, the Spaniards, being the best disciplined souldiers he hath, and of whom he maketh greatest account, are forced for want of their paiement, which is now three yeres behind, to cease his townes and artillery, to contemne his commandements and proclamations, & finally, to bend their armes & display their Ensignes vpon the wals against the Duke. To remedie which mutinie, there was post vpon post sent into Spaine, yet in seuen moneths there could no monie be found.

Not-



## *The Vsage of the*

Notwithstanding many and most important detrimments, he receiued by occasion of this mutinie, as the losse of *Breda*, the retardaunce of the Frenche succours, the danger of *Numigen*, &c. whereas the whole summe they demaunded was not much aboue fifteene thousand. Besides, doo but looke into the manner of his proceedings in these Low countries with his souldiers, (of which because I haue best experience I will chieflie speake) and you shall finde nothing in the world more beggerly and indigent. Neither (as I heare) is it better in his other prouinces, which verily I beleeeue, seeing of all others it importeth him to vse them best, as being his eldest, perfectest in discipline, and best experienced troupes, and in fine, those vnto whom he chiefliest reposeseth, as the onely vpholders and maintaynance of him in his tyrannie. Yet was there neuer in the worlde, I dare vndertake, king nor prince, how base, banquerout, or needie so euer, in whose seruice so many braue souldiers haue died of hunger, or that haue vsed such coofning trickes & shifts to stoppe necessities, and to deceiue his souldiers as he hath done.

First, the countrie not beeing yet fully consumed, wasted, and destroyed, he authorized his souldiers to spoyle and steale the goods and cattell of the poore pesants, forcing them to raunsome theyr houses from fire, and their persons from murther, by which meanes the souldiers lingered in such sort, that I haue knowen them remaine three yeres together without one moneths paie. But afterward

*Antwarpe*

### *English fugitives.*

*Antwarpe* being rendered, and by reason of the generall detestation of the countrie, the souldiers failing to finde their wonted reliefe and praie, grewe into so grear and miserable extremitie, that it was a great matter to finde twentie souldiers vnder anie Ensigne. The Spaniards murmured vpon the *Standa*, whome they founde meanes to appease wyth some few moneths payment. The Walloonds murmured in *Laiskine*, *Houlke*, and the lande of the *Wast*, the Almains went by hundreds begging vp and downe the streets of *Antwarpe* barelegged and bare footed, or in manner naked, the Italians starued in their quarters, and diuerse of them being in garison in *Breda*, ranne thence to *Halsdon*, & to other towns of the enemye. To remedie all which inconueniencies, he found meanes to deale with the Italian Bakers of *Antwarpe* for cloth and filke, as Northerne ketties, pack clothes, baies, refuse Italian filkes, taking vp the same vpon excessive interest yeerely to a certaine summe: for receit of which, and delluerie out againe, he appointed a Spaniard, one *Christopher Cruse*, a man of most wicked conscience, to be his Treasurer. Then he began to graunt paymentes to the whole campe, horse and foot, and vnto such Gentlemen and pensioners as were in great extremitie, and had ben long sutors: which they hauing receiued, were forced for want of monie presently to make sale thereof for the thirde of that value in which they receiued it: so that a souldier hauing foureteene shillings a moneths paie, receiued only

## The Usage of the

four shillings and six pence. And he hath his factors and broakers abroad to buy those sayd clothes and filkes again, which he delivereth presently out of the first price to the next that comes, and so styll forth delivering and buying the same againe for the third parte of the price, insomuch that with an hundred pounds he maketh ten thousand poundes in a yeere, and yet sometimes he maketh them stay four or five moneths before he will deliver them cloth, or anie contentment at all. And sometimes hee neuer troubleth himselfe with the deliverie of the cloth, but causeth their assignation to be boght, as now at this instant sir *William Standley* before his departure had obtained a *Liberance* for two moneths for his Regiment, amounting to an hundred and fiftie poundes, the payment thereof hath bene deferred till this present, and is nowe solde in *Antwerp* to one of his factors for thre score poundes, and yet hee that solde it made a good bargaine. I have knowen diuerse that haue solde diuerse such *Liberances* for thirte poundes, and eight and twentie poundes in the hundred. Yet this payment how bad so euer, hath somewhat contented the souldyers four or five yerres, rather having that than nothing. But now also the same is dreyed vp and come to nothing. Paymentes haue bene this halfe yeere verie scarce, and with much difficultie, for the merchants haue at this instant verily refused to furnish him with anie more wares, both because the same wherein he standeth alreadie indebted vnto them



### *English fugitives.*

amounteth to an excessiue matter, as also he begin-  
neth to wrangle with them, aboute the interest of  
which hee craueth moderation: seeing besides be-  
fore their eies so many presidents of men ruined,  
vndone, and dishonored, such as he hath delt with-  
all, of which, what more apparaunt example maye  
there be than that of *S. Sineres* a Portugal marchant,  
and one of the chifest & best respected marchant of  
*Antwarpe*, both for the wealth and credit which he  
possessed, as also for the securitie and vprightnesse  
which he handled: the Duke of *Parma* reduced of  
*Antwarpe*, the passage of the riuer shut vp, and the  
countrie and townes afflicted with great dearth &  
scarcitie of corn, at which time rie was at 44 s. ster-  
ling the virendell in *Antwarpe*, & withall being dai-  
ly cried vpon by the generall of *Vibres* for muniti-  
on & come to victual the camp, the old store being  
cleane consumed: knewe no other meanes than to  
deale earnestly with this *S. Sineres*, and other mar-  
chants that had trade with *Hariborough*, *Lubeck*, and  
the *Hasterlings*, which countrie were replenished  
with corne, to make some aduenure thither for the  
releefe of the countrie: he amongst the rest shewed  
not himselfe vnwilling to enter into an action so  
charitable and vertuous, if so be his pains might be  
requited, and hee sufficiently warranted and kept  
free from such danger as might insue, either by pe-  
ril of sea, taking of the enemies, or losse in the same:  
when it came to this end, the duke sent into *Spaine*,  
and procured him the kings Letters of assistance in

### *The Vſage of the*

the moſt ample manner poſſible, encouraging him with much thanks and many promiſes to proceed, which hee did with the aduerture of moſt part of his credite and goods, inſomuch, that hee laded three ſhippes, of which one was ſcattered by tempeſt, and caſt awaie vpon the coaſt of Scotlande, the other two came ſafely home to *Callice*, but at that time ſuch was either the ill luck of him, or the good lucke of the countrie, that vpon a new plentie harueſt which they had, corne was abated from fortie ſoute ſhillinges the Virendell, to fixe ſhillinges, at which price the Duke, by the kings appointment, bought his prouiſion and munition, vterlye reſuſing that of *Syueres*, ſo that hee was ſaine, whileſt he made his ſute to the king, to keepe the ſame ſo long vpon his owne hands, that it venowed and waxed muſtie, in ſuch ſorte, that he was ſaine to throw the greateſt parte awaie, without euer to this daie being able to receiue of the king one pennie of recompence, inſomuch that hee was forced, to the wonderfull grieve, ſhame and confuſion of him, his wife, his children and friends, hauing before time liued in the greateſt honour and magnificence of anie Marchant in the Towne, to breake banquerout, and is at this preſent ſuing to the Duke, and the priue Councell at *Bruffels*, for a protection to keepe his bodie from attachment.

THEſe are the rewardes and recompence that this mightie Monarch giueth to thoſe that imploie their indeuours in his ſeruiſe. Of which if you doe  
deſire

### *English fugitiues.*

desire to haue better experience, looke but into the office of his Treasurer at *Brussels*, and there you shall dayly and hourelly see a token sufficient of his opulencie and great magnificencie, there shall you finde a miserable troupe of sutours, with assignations for monie, graunted them by the Duke, some of which haue lost a legge or an arme, eyther thorough age or infirmitie, that hath gotten their Licence and Pasport to depart into theyr Countries, some pretending one cause and some another, but no one man able in two yeeres folowing to get one pennie: so that there is no yeere but a greate number of them die in the pursuite for hunger, yea, and some of them euen at his gates. Of my sauation I speake it, I haue knowen some poore people, that for the some of fixe poundes haue followed him three yeeres: when eyther hee goeth out or cometh into his house, hee is faine to goe thorough gardens and buy-ways, to deceiue his poore sutors, who otherwise assayed him, though in vaine, with such ruthfull cryes, that it would pearse anie mans heart to heare them. Which beggerlynesse and miserie, sundrie worthie souldiers of straunge nations seeing, especially the base and vnworthie vsage which they themselues receiued, haue abandoned that banquerout seruice, as *Iohn Baptista de Monte*, and *Camillo de Monte*, two warlike Capitaines, but now retained vnder two mightie States, the one Generall to the Duke of Florence, the other to the Venetians, who both lie in wait to crie



## *The Vsage of the*

quittance with him, and by Gods grace shall one daie haue meanes to accomplish their desire. Then sir *Martine Skinke*, of whose iust discontentment and valerous reuenge, you your selues in England are witnesse. Where are then the mountains of treasure that the mightie king possesseth? Or if yee saie he spareth them to some other end, I praie you tell me to what, and when he will vse them? If not now the danger of the losse of his countrie, fame, & religion, and the greatnesse of the causes hee hath vnderaken and considered, No, no, it is pure want & extreame indigences that forceth him to deale so, though he be rich, yet the greatnesse of the cause he is enteted into, doth farre exceede the meanes hee hath to maintaine the same. Vppon the comning downe of this last flecte hee set vphis rest, and lost it, not onelie his owne, but that also of his friendes, the pope, the Duke of *Sauoy*, the *Geneoises*, &c. which set him into such arrerages, that I thinke hee wyll not easily come out of them.

As for the treasure of his Indians, where in deede consisteth the verie marrowe, strength, and substance of all his puissance, I confesse the same to bee greate, yet his charges considered, making an estimate betweene the one and the other, it can no waie bee able to aunswere and counteruayle them. And yet the same hath beene reasonable well impayred also, since such time as sir *Fraunces Drake* and other of your worthie English captaines by sea, haue begunne to firke him in those. For  
where.

### *English fugitives.*

whereas before hee was wont vsually to waite his Indyan flecte home-ward with a Gallyasse or two; onely theyr returne accustomed to bee euerie fixe moneths, hee is now forced to mayntayne a great and mightie Naue of many shippes and gallyes, to his inestimable and continuall charges. Notwithstanding all which, his returne is seldom aboute once a yeere, and that oftentimes minglingly as may bee, and yet they are sometimes met withall, some of them scattered, some sunke, and some of them also taken by our Englyshe shippes.

If you will knowe what these his great charges are, on which hee is inforced to imploye them. First, consider that he scarcely holdeth anie countie in which hee is not constrained to holde garrisons of souldyers. As for these Lowe countries, I knowe it vppen good and assured grounds, there hath bene no yeere these twentie yeeres, but they haue cost him one with another two millyons and more yeerely aboute the reuenewe and other commodities receyued thereout, and yet howe beggerlie his souldyers are vsed, you haue heard before.

The rest, for Naples, Sicilia, Portugall maiorque, minorque, the frontires of Arragon and Nguarre, and Lombardie, hee is fayne to bee at charge of many strong and mightie garrisons by lande, and in the most of them manye Gallyes or other shipping in the Hauens, and all along the Sea-coasts,

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coasts, none of which hee can for his life diminish, for his gouernment is so hatefull, that none of these prouinces are his anie longer than hee hath their heades in the bridle. And besides, his prouinces stande so seuered and diuinited, that the transporting of his Nauie from one to another is infinite chargeable vnto him, insomuch that I haue heard some of his Commissioners here sweare, that there is no crowne of his that commeth from Spaine into these Countries by lande, but standeth them in fūe roialles, so infinite is the charge of carriages, conuoyes, and commissaries, to deliuer and receiue the same.

Besides all this, hee disburseth yeerely mightie summes of monie to the Persian, to the end to keep the Turke occupied, of whome hee standeth mightily in feare, and truely he hath reason, if her Maiestie would condescend to such conditions as haue beene by this Turke to her proposed. But she lyke a christian princeesse, how greatly so euer to her advantage the same might be, will not doo anie thing whereby Christianitie might hereafter seeme to receiue anie detriment.

As for *Polonia*, the same hath beene incredible chargeable vnto him, as well for the mightie bribes bestowed vpon the nobles of the countrey, as also the charges of a great armie of *Reyntiers*: hee sent his kinsman *Maximilian of Austria*, what by force and what by helpe of the parte which he had gained, & with his treasures, thought to inuest him in the king-



### *English fugitiues.*

kingdome. The successe of which enterprife I wold not write, being to the whole world notorious and known. In the consistorie of Rome hee is faine to entertaine a great number of those hungrie Cardinals in pension and fee, therby to gaine their voices when need requireth, which liberalitie of his he cannot by anie meanes withdrawe, for in so dooing he should be assured to haue them his enemies, and contrarie to his proceedings.

Lastly, for conclusion, he maketh at this instant open warres with France, England, and the Lowe countries: What deme you then hereof? Hath he not (trow you) vent for his treasures? His father was a better souldier and a greater man of warre than he is, and as mightie a prince euerie deale (his Portugall Indians only excepted) in place of which he quietly inioyed these his Lowe countries, which in respect of their great oppulencie, abundance of riches, & conuenientnes of scituation, were to them accounted nothing inferior. And yet he neuer dared attempt to make warres vpon France alone, but he first sought by all possible meanes to assure himselfe in friendship with England, giuing to that end great and mightie presents to Cardinal *Wolsey*, and others of the councel, that in those daies were with her Maiesties father of worthie memorie K. *Henrie* the eight: whereas his sonne makes war with all the world carelesly at once, but the Italians haue a true prouerbe, *Cum tutto abbraccione iung string*. And so I hope it shall fare with him.

Now as touching those his mightie and puissant

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## *The Usage of the*

numbers of men, which they say he is able to make, I take vpon me to know the state of his forces as wel as other, and I herein of all other men know him to be most needie and wanting. For as for Spain, Naples, and Lombardie, of which his only force consisteth, and which are his chiefeft store-houses of men, it is sufficiently knowen, that his drums haue gone a whole yeere beating vp and downe, according as their maner is, to get together six thousand men, and those all shepheardes, hedgebreakers, and such idle trewantly rogues, the most parte of which he is forced to put in garrison for a yeere or two to fashion them, before he send the to seruice. I saw about two yeres agone a fresh leuie that came out of *Pastrauia*, who put them presently in the castle of *Antwarp*, drawing out the olde garrison, the most silly naked snakes that euer I sawe in my lyfe, such, as in my conscience, a man in deed wold beaten of them.

As for *Germanie*, out of the which heeretofore he hath drawen greate numbers, and by theyr helpe done great matters before *Mastrig* in *Freisland* and those places, his vsage hath bene so base and miserable vnto them, that the old souldiers are all starued and consumed in his seruice, whose calamitie hath so terrified the rest at home, that no prince in Europe hath lesse credite to raise men there than hee. And though there were no such matter, yet they are no waie bound vnto him more than to another, theyr profession beeing to serue onely him that will best paie them best, and yet if hee shoulde  
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### *English fugitives.*

raise anie of the alliaunces of her Maiestie, and the scituation of their Countrie considered, it shoulde be a matter of great difficultie to ioyne them wyth his other troupes. Where are then his innumerable legions with which hee meanes to ouercome the world? Alliance he hath none, vnlesse it bee wyth the rebellious league of France: of them he can receiue no aide nor comfort, themselues being miserable and distressed, by reason wherof most burdens vnto him, & yet there is no man liuing in the world lesse beholden vnto them than he. For notwithstanding all his assistance, they woulde neuer yeeld to receiue his forces into their townes or fortresses, seruing onely their turns on him for the present time.

As for the pope and the Princes of Italye, what fayre weather so euer they doo beare him, he both trusteth them, and they him, and great reason they haue so to doo. And withall, this malediction hangeth vpon him, that as hee is of all forraine nations distrusted, doubted, and abhorred, so both he and the very name of a Spaniard, is most loathsome and hatefull to the rest of his owne subiectes. Inso-much, that in Millaine the young Gentlemen haue a pastime by night, which they call *Caccia Marran*, that is, putting on a visard on theyr face by night, they goe with theyr long rapiers or picked bastinados vnder they cloakes out in the Towne to seeke Spaniardes in the stewes or anie other place where they thinke they are lykely to finde anie of them, vnto whome they giue as manye stabbes



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and blowes that they can laie vpon them, inso much that the Spaniards dare not for their cares abide out of the castle after shutting in of the gates. As for his dealing in Portugall, who knowes not his cruell tyranie, and the hatred they beare him?

But now come to her MAIESTY, and you shal find another manner of state of matters: her realme plentifully abounding in men of warlike disposition, of whom she is loued & adored: her warres are iust, charitable, godly, & defensiue, for maintenance of which, besides the trust that she reposeth in God, who hath hetherto mightily and miraculously defended her, she is alied in straight league, friendship & confederation with the most victorious & christian king of France, with the kings of Denmarke & Scotland, with the Switzers, and with sundrie princes and states of the Empire, al being her neighbors dominions, vnited with hers, and thereby ready to assist, aid, & succor one another in all such occasions as shall or may happen. Al this then considered, tell me, I praie you, what occasion of feare or misdoubt you haue. If you thinke the English valor not to be compared with that of the Spaniard, reade but the Chronicles, and you shall finde how much you are deceiued: you shall finde that a smal armie of English men, vnder the conduct of that worthie prince of Wales, eldest sonne to *Edward* the third, passed in despight of them thorough *Cauarre* into *Spaine*, and there in the middest and bowels of their owne cuntry, ouerthrew at *Nadres* their vsurping king, *Henry* the bastard (of whose rase this man is descended

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ded by his grandmother) being accompanied with the nobilitie of the countrie, and 60000. of the bravest fighting men in Spaine, & so vtterly ouerthrew him, that they erected king in his place *Don Pedro*, their iust & lawfull prince of that kingdome, whom by maine force they constrained all their cities and noble men of the country to receiue. Read besides the valerous conquestes atchieued by *Iohn Duke of Lancaster*, brother vnto the sayd prince, in *Gallicia*, against *Don Iohn*, sonne of the sayd *Henrie* the vsurping bastard: besides, the chronicles of Portugal are full of the materiall prowesse of the English & glorious victories obtained in seruice of their king, to whose aide they were called against the saide king of *Castile*

But what need I run backe into the passed ages to seeke examples? Looke but into the incounters that haue bene of late daies betweene them and vs either by sea or land, and you shall finde that they haue alwaies carried the blowes. As by land, at the encountering of *Grane* and that of *Sutphen*, where the honor of the world and ornament of England, sir *P. Sidney* by his aduenturous valor was slaine, besides many other bickerings and skirmishes of lesse moment needles to recite. Of sea matters I account it bootlesse to speake, so greatly and aboue measure glorious is the same, & bruted through the world, of the worthie voiages of sir *F. Drake*, sir *I. Hawkins*, sir *M. Frobisher*, *C. Raiman*, and the rest of the braue and couragious Gentlemen, who for the benefit of their countrie haue not spared to make aduenture

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of their liues and fortunes.

But if you desire one example of all, let that then serue of his huge late fleet, with which, Golyas like, hee threatned heauen and earth, & with which he thought to haue circumuented and surprised at vnawares her Maiestie, whilest falsely, wickedly, and abusiuely, hee entertained her Graces Commissioners in Flanders with a treatie of peace. To which her Highnesse lyke a Christian princeesse, and for to auoide the effussion of Christian bloud, was verie vnclinable. But God, as he hath alwaies done, so at this time did hee miraculously protect her Maiesty in such sort, that through the great, careful, and exceeding valorous resolution of that most worthie and renowned Gentleman the Lorde Admirall of England, of whose couragious behauiour and terror, with which he amazed them, the verie enemy himselfe, though agaynst his will, makes worthie mention. They were with a small number of English so fiercely and vigorously encountered, that their resistance not preuailing them, they were scattered, chased, and vtterly discomfited, in such sorte as the whole world knoweth, so that *Lucans* verse, me thinkes, may verie fitly bee applyed vnto them, *Territa quasitis ostendunt terga Britannis.*

Besides, what better triall can you haue of the valour of their nation than this, being thirtie thousand, the creame of all theyr forces, and aboute the assembling of which he had bene three yares busied, yet when they came vpon the coast of *England*, dared not to lande a man: whereas wee the nexte  
yeere



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yeere following, with a little Nauie, containing not aboute eleuen thousand men, vnder the conduct of the two most renowned Captaines, *sir Iohn Norris* and *sir Frances Drake*, landed in Spaine, burnt his shipping, put his people to the sword, & his townes to the fire, and coasted thence along into Portugal, and there landing, marched in his countrie, euen to his gates of *Leisbone*, with drums sounding, and ensignes displayed: from whence wee returned vn-fought withall by anie of his forces either by sea or land.

These things well considered, me thinkes you haue greater reason to hope one daie to see English Ensignes displayed in *Mudrill*, together wyth the vtter ruine of that proude tyrant of Spaine and his holy Father the pope, with all their rabble, than aniewaie to feare him or his proceedings. And yet there is one point besides all the aboue rehearsed, out of which we may receiue singular comfort, as that of which all other most deeplye vexeth and afflicteth his cogitations, and which, no doubt before it be long, wil giue vs a great aduantage against him, and that is, the contention which hee seeth to spring vp in his owne house, of which I will briefly discourse vnto you the occasions, because you shall vnderstand the same the better.

Hee hath by seuerall wiues three children liuing, two Daughters and one sonne, the Sonne young of yeeres, sicklie of bodie, pale and weake of complexion, of wit poore and vnfurnished, in a manner a very idiot.

His

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His eldest daughter, whom they cal *La Infante* of Spaine, a woman as by birth great, so proud exceedingly, haughtie minded, and aboue measure aspiring, prudent, in her speeches maiesticall, in her countenance and actions couragious: her he hath alwaies norished vnder his own wing, acquainting her euen from her cradle with matters of state and gouernment. In which now, by reason of her long traine and experience therein, shee is exceedingly practised and ripe. With her, what waightie matter so euer hee vndertaketh, hee participateth the same before, demanding her aduice and counsell, spending sometimes whole halfe daies they two in communication together. Vpon her (the youths weaknesse & simplicitie of the yong prince considered) are the eies of all men throwen, vppon her depend the nobilitie, gentilitie and commons, and innumerable troupes of sutors, into whose harts she hath so insinuated her selfe, that they doo beare an exceeding loue and reuerence towards her, many mighty men haue bin offered her in mariage, as the Empe-  
tour *Rodolph*, the king of Scotland, and diuers other, but she vntil she see what wil become of her father, whom shee seeth olde, oppressed with infinit cares, and not likely long to liue, vpon whose death, her actions and manner of life doth assuredly shew, that shee is not of mettall sufficient to giue place to the yong idiot her brother, but at least shee meanes to part stakes with him.

In Spaine she knowes there is no lawe Salike, to bridle her ambitious thoughtes, but women maye  
succeed

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succeed as men, for so grandmother *Ionina* did *Ferdinando* her father. Hauing these examples before her eyes, she feedeth her minde with high & ambitious desires, of which she hath made so cleere and euident demonstrations, that her Father to preuent this mischiefe that hee seareth, was forced this last yeere to assemble the whole estates of Spaine, & to make them sweare to be true vnto his sonne, whom he presently caused to keepe his Court apart, sending him sundrie of his counsell; and commanding the nobilitie to be attendant on him, acquainting him, as much as in them lyeth, with managing of matters of waight, estate, and gouernment. Besides it is heere bruited for certaine among vs, that the president of *Artois Richardol*, who the Duke of *Parma* had sent into *Spaine*, to make his excuses and iustifications against certaine pointes of treason, of which he was by the Duke of *Pastrania* and prince of *Ascoly* accused to the king, is now returned with commission to assemble the nobles & states of these Countries, and to cause them to take the like oath to his sonne, therby to preuent as well his daughter as the Duke of *Parma* of their conceiued hopes.

But now to come to his second daughter, whom he hath long sithence bestowed in marriage vpon the Duke of *Sauoy*, with absolute promise & solemn vow between him and her, to leaue her a kingdome for her dowrie. She is a princeesse in ambition and high desire nothing vnequal to her lister, but in wit & courage far her inferior, she & her husband both alreadie take vpon them in their manner, stile, and



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vsage, a state and title far beyond their dignitie, conuenient onelye vnto kinges. *Alteffa* is the meanest phrase they will be spoken in vnto, refusing any letters that are not so intituled, for such is the will and pleasure of the king her father. Naples & the Dutchie of Millaine they haue already deuoured in their hopes, which if her Father at his death leaue not quietly vnto them, they will be so bold as strain curtesie with his son, to get them perforce if he can. On the other side, the states of Italy like not such a mightie neighbor amongst them, and therefore to preuent both him and his father in lawes desseignment, haue made a most straight secret league & alliance among themselues, tearming the same *Ragoyne de Stato*: in which are comprised the pope, the Venetians, the Duke of Florence, the Duke of Parma, the Dukes of Vrbin, Mantua, and Ferrara: the duke of Parma dared not to enter in among them, but is forced, though none more agreed to dissemble and temporize than he for a while, he knoweth that the king hath bene exceeding ielous, and seeketh, though slyly and dissemblingly, his life, honour, & reputation. But aboue all, the dissention of Portugall, to which hee perswadeth himselfe to haue right, as in truth his title is better than that of the king of Spaines, sticketh deep in his stomacke, *Ma-  
net alta monte repostum*, and wee doubt not but one daie when occasion shall serue, hee will make the worlde witnesse of his discontentment, which the king well knoweth, and greatly feareth, but he must haue patience, for he can hardly remedie it, vnlesse  
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the duke will wittingly ouerthrow himselfe, especially hauing these meanes in his handes which hee hath, not onely to worke his owne securitie, but to crie quittance also when time shall serue.

But hauing now exceeded the limits of a letter, it is time I refraine my pen, hoping that these alledged demonstrations shall, if not to worke the good effect which I desire in you & other Gentlemen of my countrie, yet at the least to manifest the dutifull zeale & loue I beare vnto the state of my Country, as to all faithfull members thereof, in participating vnto them such things as by painfull and dangerous experience I haue gathered, and do thinke necessarie to be knowne, wherein I haue vsed such truth, that I hope no man liuing shall be able to disproue me, though I doubt not but the same shall bee by some maliciously censured, and my selfe subiect to abide the brunt of their mallice, being assured that I shall not auoid the poisoned rancor of their infamous defaming tongues and pens. For seeing they spare not in their traiterous speeches & infamous pamphlets, princes, noble men, & counsellors, men of great authoritie & vertue, it were folly for me to looke to scape scot-free. But such is the ioye I conceiue in my good meaning, that I shal receiue comfort thereof, as a thing greatly redounding to my credit, of such men as they are to bee ill spoken of.

Now lastly for conclusion, whereas you write that if there were no other benefite to be gotten in these partes, but attaining the languages of foreine nations, with the knowledge of militarie discipline

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and affaires of matter of ſtate, wherein you heare my ſelfe & others your country-men haue in theſe parts greatly profited themſelues, it were a motion ſufficient not onely to make you leaue your country for a time, but to hazard your ſelfe to any dangers in forain parts, I haue thought good therein to let you vnderſtand, that albeit I muſt confeſſe, that I haue in thoſe things profited more perchaunce, (without oſtentatio be it ſpoken) than others of our nation, for the moſt part haue done: yet as the time now ſerueth, and the caſe now ſtandeth at this preſent, there is no poſſibilitie that you or anie other may in farre longer time than I haue ſpent, attaine to the like: and if you could, yet the dangers that in aduenturing the ſame you ſhoulde indure, were farre greater than the benefites you could poſſibly reape might in any wiſe counteruaile, were they ſuch as might anſwere your expectation. In which reſpect, I praie you firſt conſider, that when I came firſt ouer hether, the wars then here vndertaken ſeemed & were in appaſſance to all the manner ſort of men in the worlde. But intestine warres betweene the prince and his ſubiects, ſuch as no other foraine prince, and moſt eſpecially our moſt noble Queene & Soueraigne was then nothing intereſſed: whereas ſince it hath ben made manifeſt to the world that theſe wars and iniuries offered by the king of *Spaine* to thoſe of the Low countries, whoſe laws, cuſtoms and priuiledges he hath moſt violently, tyranouſly, wrongfully and periuredly broken, whereby hee hath freed them from his ſubiection, yoaſe, and tyrannie,



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ranie, and iustly and deseruedly for euer lost al such preheminences, prerogatiues, authoritie, and iurisdiction as he pretended ouer them, as more amply appeareth in the ancient records of the priuiledges of these nations, which both he & his predecessors at their entrie of gouernment into these prouinces haue solemnly vowed and sworne to maintaine all in generall, and euerie in particular inuiolate, & vpon that couenant and condition they haue reciprocally sworn to him due fidelitie and obeisance, he sayling in the one, they to be exempted from the other. Noreouer, her Maiestie seeing the lamentable and most pittifull cause of her distressed neighbours and allies, finding no other possible meanes by laborers, sutes, messages, & sundrie Embassadors which she most honorably sent to the king of *Spain* for pacifieng the sayd troubles, and reconciling the sayd king and those: sometimes his sayd subiectes haue bene inforced to take pittie and commiseration of their most miserable and afflicted estate and distresse, and for their reliefe, to her excessiue & almost importable charges, to vndertake a most iust, godly, and charitable defensiu warre against those that daily seeke the bloud, liues, goods, lands and liberties of the inhabitants of the sayd distressed nations. Since which being published, I thinke it not onely vnlawful, but also a most hainous and capital crime and offence for any her Maiesties subiectes to serue on the contrarie part.

Besides, it shal be good for you & all other good subiects of her Maiesties, to remember that consideration being had by her Maiestie and her most

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honorab! prudent counsell, of the loosenes of many of her subiects, and small respect they had to her Highnes & countrie, & as litle to their owne safety, hir Maiesty hath caused to be published & set forth diuerse lawes, ordinances, proclamations, and inhibitions, whereby all her subiectes (except knowen marchants and strangers) are straightly forbidden to passe the seas into anie forraine partes without especiall licence of her Maiestie at this time. Therefore if you or anie other her Graces subiects, shall nowe attempt to passe the seas without lawfull licence, there is no reason why you shuld expect anie other than the rigor of the lawes & iustice, & to be holden guiltie of cases capitall, especiallye such as shall serue vnder so open and professed an enemy to the crowne and state.

Further, I praye you to haue in consideration, that when I came ouer hether, the case so stooode as all Gentlemen of anie quality or merit, were gratefully receiued, and employed in good & honorable seruices: whereas since the Spaniard hath professed himselfe open enemy to her Maiestie and the state of her realme, he hath had all English-men in verie base account, beeing ielous & extremely suspitious of those that be most inwarde with him, & who for his sake haue made shipwrack not only of their honor and credit, but also of their loialty, dutie and allegiance to her Maiestie and their natieue Countrie. Examples whereof are infinit, and partly touched in my Discourse before set dowue.

Besides, there is of late crept into that nation a viperous brood of Iesuits and priests, most dangerous & maliti.

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malitious enemies to her Maiestie, and to their owne countrie vile and pernitious, instruments of the pope and his adherents, who daily (as it is manifest to them that haue knowledge and experience of them & their actions) seeke nothing more than the vtter ruine, pulling downe, and destruction of her Maiestie and theyr countrie, which bred and nourished in them, & al true professors of the Gospell and christian religion thoroughout christendome, he therefore that thinketh to liue amongst these pernitious people in anie credit or account, let him, as he worthily doth deserue, bee accounted besides his wits, or els disobedient and traitorous to God, her Maiestie, & his countrie.

As for my part, seeing the impietie of this place and the wicked and detestable end whereto their drifts & practises are directed, I haue long since retired my self, liuing aloofe from them, abandoning and vtterly reiecting the merit of my long seruice, & all such hopes and prefermentes, which I might as well as anie man else of my qualitie of my nation haue pretended and should haue as soone obtained. And haue euer since by all possible meanes, as well by my selfe as by my friends, laboured with her Maiesties most honourable priuie councel about my returne, which by the speciall grace & benignity of my Soueraigne, I am in comfort shortly to obtaine, desiring to spend my poore talent, and the residue of my life in the seruice of her Maiestie, my most honorable princeesse & soueraigne Ladie, whom God of his euerlasting goodnesse blesse with many yeres, & endles prosperity, to the ioy of hir subiects, and all faithfull christians dispersed throughout the whole world.

*Finis.*



## *The Vsage of the*

honorab!e prudent counsell, of the loosenes of many of her subiects, and small respect they had to her Highnes & countrie, & as litle to their owne safety, hir Maiesty hath caused to be published & set forth diuerse lawes, ordinances, proclamations, and inhibitions, whereby all her subiectes (except knowen marchants and strangers) are straightly forbidden to passe the seas into anie forraine partes without especiall licence of her Maiestie at this time. Therefore if you or anie other her Graces subiects, shall nowe attende licence, there other than holden gun shall serue to the crowne.

Further that when all Gentle

fully receiued, and employed in good & honorable seruices: whereas since the Spaniard hath professed himselfe openemie to her Maiestie and the state of her realme, he hath had all English-men in verie base account, beeing ielous & extremely suspitious of those that be most inwarde with him, & who for his sake haue made shipwrack not only of their honor and credit, but also of their loialty, dutie and allegiance to her Maiestie and their natieue Countrie. Examples whereof are infinit, and partly touched in my Discourse before set downe.

Besides, there is of late crept into that nation a viperous brood of Iesuits and priests, most dangerous & maliti.



HARVARD · COL



*English fugitiues.*

malitious enemies to her Maiestie, and to their owne  
countrie vile and pernicious, instruments of the pope  
and his adherents, who daily (as it is manifest to them  
that haue knowledge and experience of them & their  
actions) seeke nothing more than the vtter ruine, pul-  
ling downe, and destruction of her Maiestie and theyr  
countrie, which bred and nourished in them, & al true  
professors of the Gospell and christian religion tho-  
roughout christendome, he therefore that thinketh to  
liue amonst these pernicious people in any credit or

rue, bee ac-  
t and traite-

is place and  
eir drifts &  
red my self,  
vtterly re-  
such hopes.

presentment, which I might as well as anie man  
else of my qualitie of my nation haue pretended and  
should haue as soone obtained. And haue euer since  
by all possible meanes, as well by my selfe as by my  
friends, laboured with her Maiesties most honourable  
priuie council about my returne, which by the speci-  
all grace & benignity of my Soueraigne, I am in com-  
fort shortly to obtaine, desiring to spend my poore ta-  
lent, and the residue of my life in the seruice of her  
Maiestie, my most honorable princeesse & soueraigne  
Ladie, whom God of his euerlasting goodnesse blese  
with many yeres, & endles prosperity, to the ioy of hir  
subiects, and all faithfull christians dispersed through-  
out the whole world.

*Finis.*